

expect to have significant input in the process," Senator Charles E. Schumer, New York's senior Democrat, said in an interview. "We're simply not going to roll over."

Forty-two of the Senate's 50 Democrats attended a private retreat this weekend in Farmington, Pa., where a principal topic was forging a unified party strategy to combat the White House on judicial nominees.

The senators listened to a panel composed of Prof. Laurence H. Tribe of Harvard Law School, Prof. Cass M. Sunstein of the University of Chicago Law School and Marcia R. Greenberger, the co-director of the National Women's Law Center, on the need to scrutinize judicial nominees more closely than ever. The panelists argued, said some people who were present, that the nation's courts were at a historic juncture because, they said, a band of conservative lawyers around Mr. Bush was planning to pack the courts with staunch conservatives.

"They said it was important for the Senate to change the ground rules and there was no obligation to confirm someone just because they are scholarly or erudite," a person who attended said.

Senator Tom Daschle of South Dakota, the Democratic leader, then exhorted his colleagues behind closed doors on Saturday morning to refrain from providing snap endorsements of any Bush nominee. One senior Democratic Senate staff aide who spoke on the condition of anonymity said that was because some people still remembered with annoyance the fact that two Democratic senators offered early words of praise for the nomination of Senator John Ashcroft to be attorney general.

Senators Robert G. Torricelli of New Jersey and Joseph R. Biden Jr. of Delaware initially praised the Ashcroft selection, impeding the early campaign against the nomination. Both eventually acceded to pressure and voted against the nomination.

The current partisan battle is over a parliamentary custom that Republicans are considering changing, which governs whether a senator may block or delay a nominee from his home State. Democrats and Republicans on the Judiciary Committee have not resolved their dispute over the "blue-slip policy" that allows senators to block a nominee by filing a blue slip with the committee.

On Friday, Senator Patrick J. Leahy of Vermont, the ranking Democrat on the Judiciary Committee, and Mr. Schumer sent a letter to the White House signed by all committee Democrats insisting on a greater role in selecting judges, especially given that the Senate is divided 50-50 and that the Republicans are the majority only because Vice President Dick Cheney is able to break any tie.

Senator Trent Lott of Mississippi, the Republican leader, told reporters today that he believed "some consideration will be given to Democratic input, but I don't think they should expect to name judges from their State."

Mr. Lott said he expected that Democrats might slow the process but, in the end, would not block any significant number of nominees.

Behind all the small-bore politics is the sweeping issue of the direction of the federal courts, especially the 13 circuit courts that increasingly have the final word on some of the most contentious social issues. How the federal bench is shaped in the next 4 or 8 years, scholars say, could have a profound effect on issues like affirmative action, abortion rights and the lengths to which the government may go in aiding parochial schools.

Mr. Bush is expected to announce his first batch of judicial nominees in the next several days, and it is likely to include several

staunch conservatives as well as some women and members of minorities, administration officials have said. Among those Mr. Bush may put forward to important Federal appeals court positions are such conservatives as Jeffrey S. Sutton, Peter D. Keisler, Representative Christopher Cox of California and Miguel Estrada.

The first group of nominees, which may number more than two dozen, is part of an effort to fill the 94 vacancies on the Federal bench while the Republicans still control the Senate.

But it remains unclear if there will be a Supreme Court vacancy at the end of the court's term in July. Speculation on possible retirements has focused on Chief Justice William H. Rehnquist and Justices Sandra Day O'Connor and John Paul Stevens. But in recent days, associates of Justice O'Connor have signaled that she wants it known that she will not retire after this term.

Mr. MCCONNELL, the record about who is out to change what is not merely confined to the statements from this article. No, we have 4 years of behavior to corroborate these statements.

Soon after that Democrat retreat, and continuing to this day, we have seen our Democratic friends make major changes in the Senate's ground rules for confirming qualified judicial nominees.

For example, almost immediately the Democrats began to litmus-test judges in order to strain out the ones they considered too conservative. When they controlled the Judiciary Committee in the 107th Congress, they even held hearings on using ideology in the confirmation process in an effort to legitimize their practice of litmus-testing judges.

The Democrats have widely-applied their litmus tests. They have filibustered almost 1 circuit court nominee for every 3 they have confirmed. As a result, in his first term, President George W. Bush had only 69 percent of his circuit-court nominees confirmed. That is the lowest confirmation percentage of any President since World War II.

In addition, the Democrats began to demand that they in effect get to co-nominate judges along with the President. The Constitution clearly provides in Article II, Section 2, that the President, and the President alone, nominates judges. The Senate is empowered to give "advice" and "consent." The Democrats, however, have sought to redefine "advice and consent" to mean "co-nominate."

President Bush, rightly so, has not acceded to this attempt to upset our Constitution's separation of powers. Unfortunately, the administration of justice is suffering. In the case of the Sixth Circuit, for example, Democratic Senators are willing to let one-fourth of the circuit seats sit empty in order to enforce their demands. As a result, the Sixth Circuit—which includes Tennessee, Kentucky, Ohio and Michigan—is far and away the slowest circuit in the Nation. My constituents and the other residents of the Sixth Circuit are the victims. Thanks to the other side's obstruction, Kentuckians know too

well that justice delayed means justice denied.

The Democrats have changed other ground rules in the confirmation process. But all these changes were just precursors to what happened in the last Congress. In 2003, Democrats instituted the ultimate change in the Senate's ground rules: they began to obstruct, via the filibuster, on a systematic and partisan basis, well-qualified nominees who commanded majority support. That is unprecedented in over 200 years of Senate history.

Republicans did not filibuster judicial nominees, even though it would have been easy for us to do so. Let me give you the names of some very controversial Democratic judicial nominees whom we could have easily filibustered, during the Clinton and Carter years: Richard Paez, William Fletcher, Susan Oki Molloway, Abner Mikva. None of these nominees had 60 votes for confirmation.

Other controversial Democratic nominees, like Marsha Berzon, barely had 60 votes for confirmation, but we did not whip our caucus to try to filibuster them either. Indeed, just the opposite occurred: Senators LOTT and HATCH, to their great credit, argued that we ought not to set such a precedent, no matter how strongly we oppose the nominee. I remember voting for cloture myself, voting to shut off debate on Paez and Berzon both, and then voting against them when they got their up-or-down vote, which they were entitled to get.

Our friends, the Democrats, are driving a double standard: The nominees of a Democratic President only had to garner majority support, as had every other judicial nominee in history until Democrats sought to change the ground rules. But nominees of a Republican President have to get a much higher level of support. That is the ultimate in hypocrisy.

Because the majority may seek to restore the norms and traditions of the Senate—norms and traditions that my Democratic friends have upset—the Democrats are now threatening to shut down the Government. That is not right.

We need to recommit ourselves to the 200 year principle that in a democracy an up-or-down vote should be given to a President's judicial nominees. It is simple. It is fair. It has been that way for over 2 centuries. And it's served us well.

I yield the floor.

Mr. COCHRAN, Mr. President, the continual controversy over Senate confirmation of Federal judges needs to be resolved. It promises to hang as a cloud over the Senate unless we reach an understanding of the appropriate role of the Senate.

I had been hopeful that the Senate leadership would be able to resolve this issue by reaching an agreement that would be acceptable to both sides. However, that does not now appear likely.

Therefore, I have advised the distinguished majority leader, Mr. FRIST,